

FIFTY YEARS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

By A. GHOSH

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|------------------------------|------|
| 1. Retrospect | 29 |
| 2. 1902-1906 | 31 |
| 3. 1906-1921 | 35 |
| 4. 1921-1928 | 36 |
| 5. 1928-1937 | 39 |
| 6. 1937-1953 | 41 |
| 7. Publications | 48 |
| 8. Archaeology in the States | 50 |
| 9. Missions abroad | 51 |

1. RETROSPECT

THE foregoing article will have amply shown the wavering nature of the archaeological policy of the Government in the nineteenth century even after the acceptance of ancient monuments as a responsibility of the State. The extent of that responsibility had been variously defined on different occasions. For example, at times it was thought that it would be sufficient if photographic or other copies of a few monuments were prepared. In 1862 the objective of the new Archaeological Survey was 'an accurate description—illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs and by copies of inscriptions—of such remains as deserve notice'. In 1870 the same definition was elaborated as 'a complete search over the whole country and a systematic record and the description of all architectural and other remains that are remarkable for their antiquity or their beauty or their historical interest'. To Burgess, archaeology was but the history of art, and during his time architectural studies received greater attention than before. The persistent belief that the archaeological work in this country could be completed within a specified time precluded even a remote proposal of placing the Survey-organization on a permanent footing. Both Cunningham and Burgess recommended, while finally leaving India, the abolition of the post of the Director General of Archaeology—proposals which were readily accepted. Another question on which no decision was ever reached was the respective responsibility of the Imperial and Local Governments. Even after Lytton declared in 1878 that he could not 'conceive of any claims upon the administrative initiative and financial resources of the Supreme Government more essentially imperial' than the preservation of the national antiquities and works of art, hardly any concrete steps were taken to make the imperial responsibility effective. When, in 1886, a unification of the three Surveys of northern, southern and western India and of the three functions of survey, conservation and epigraphy was partly effected under Burgess, the complicated administrative machinery rendered the scheme virtually infructuous.

In spite of this, a stock-taking of the archaeological work done in the country by the close of the last century would reveal that its outcome had not been negligible. Apart from the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* of Cunningham,¹ several regions had their topographical lists of monuments and remains.² The studies of Burgess and his colleagues on the architecture of monuments had been made available in sumptuous volumes.³ Though excavation of ancient sites had never been defined as one of the functions of the Survey, Cunningham and his associates, and even Burgess, had conducted, albeit in an amateurish way, excavations at a large number of sites, the proceeds of which enriched museums both in India and abroad. Cole's reports on the preservation of national monuments had defined the lines on which some monuments of outstanding importance were to be conserved.⁴ Cole had, in 1882-83, also divided the monuments into three classes, which remained the basis for classification till 1919, when it was slightly modified to meet changed circumstances.⁵ In the field of epigraphy, two volumes of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*,⁶ six volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*,⁷ and two volumes and four parts of the third volume of the *South Indian Inscriptions*⁸ had been published, bespeaking the steady and scholarly labour of the epigraphists. Thus, survey, excavation, preservation of monuments and of antiquities and epigraphy had already won place, if vaguely and indirectly, in the antiquarian activities in the country. The declaration of the bold principle by Lord Curzon in 1900 that 'it is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher and to cherish and conserve' finally laid down what was expected of the Archaeological Survey of India that was remodelled shortly afterwards.

On the administrative side, in spite of Curzon's own strong feelings about Centralization, what was actually done was a compromise between the respective jurisdictions and responsibilities of the Government of India and Local Governments. The regional Surveys, while coming under the technical control of the Director General of Archaeology, appointed by the Government of India under Curzon's scheme, were still to remain under the administration of the Local Governments. In addition to the professional advice

¹ *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, I-XXIII (Simla-Calcutta, 1871-87).

² R. Sewell, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, I, New Imperial Series (N.I.S.), VII (Madras, 1882); A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh*, N.I.S., XII (Allahabad, 1891); J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency etc.*, N.I.S., XVI (Bombay, 1897); A. Rea, *List of Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Coorg*, N.I.S., XVII (Madras, 1894); H. Cousens, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar*, N.I.S., XIX (Calcutta, 1897); H. Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's Territories*, N.I.S., XXXI (Calcutta, 1900).

³ The volumes are published in *Archaeological Survey of India*, New Imperial Series.

⁴ H. Cole, volumes published as *Preservation of National Monuments* (Simla-Calcutta, 1881-85).

⁵ Resolution dated 21st February 1919, Education A, Archaeology and Epigraphy (referred to below as A. and E.), Mar. 1919, 14-17. The classification is as follows: I, those monuments which from their present condition or historical or archaeological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair; II, those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like; and III, those monuments which, from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

⁶ A. Cunningham, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, I (Calcutta, 1877); J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, C.I.I., III (Calcutta, 1888).

⁷ The first two volumes were published in N.I.S., XIII and XIV (Calcutta, 1892-94). The subsequent volumes, III-XIX (1894-1919), were called Supplements to the *Indian Antiquary*.

⁸ In N.I.S., IX, X and XXIX (Madras, 1890-99).

of the Director General, the Government of India were to help the Local Governments by giving grants-in-aid of not less than one lakh of rupees per year¹ for archaeological work of special importance and magnitude, the rest of the expenditure being met out of Provincial funds.²

The duties expected of the new Director General, Mr. John Marshall,³ were as follows: 'The most important of his functions is to secure that the ancient monuments of the country are properly cared for, that they are not utilized for purposes which are inappropriate or unseemly, that repairs are executed when required and that any restorations, which may be attempted, are conducted on artistic lines. But his duties extend to the exercise of a general supervision over all archaeological work in the country, whether it be that of excavation, or preservation, or repair, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient remains, or of antiquarian research; he is to assist the provincial Surveys in ascertaining and formulating the special requirements of each Province; and to advise the Government of India as to the operations for which special subsidies may be allotted from Imperial funds. He is to co-ordinate and bring up to date the local Survey and reports; and he is to submit annually to the Government of India a report on the progress effected during each financial year.'⁴

2. 1902-1906

Marshall reached India on the 22nd February 1902 and lost no time in establishing an effective hold over the archaeology of the country. It would be going into avoidable details if we were to recount here, year by year, the work of excavation and conservation either undertaken by him directly or conducted under his advice, for such details are readily available in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* and the *Annual Reports of the Provincial Surveys*.⁵ His 'Note on the operations and future conduct of the Archaeological Survey', dated the 6th April 1903, shows that within a year he had formulated definite principles about excavation, conservation and museums, which were generally accepted by the Government in their Resolution dated the 7th July 1903.⁶ He realized that the prime need at that time was conservation and excavation, and he deprecated the spending of undue time by the archaeological officers on literary research.

¹ Resolution 7-6-12, dated 11th February 1902, which also announced the appointment of the Director General. In the earlier years the grants-in-aid allotted out of this amount included, besides conservation and excavation, assistance to the Indian Museum and the Lahore, Lucknow, Bombay and Madras Museums. Revenue and Agriculture (referred to below as Rev. and Agri.), A, A. and E., Feb. 1903, 37-50. (This and similar references in the following pages are to the records preserved in the National Archives of India.)

² Curzon himself, in his Minutes dated 24th August 1902, recorded: 'I do not entertain a doubt that it is essential that the expenditure should remain provincial' (Home, A. and E., Jan. 1906, 17).

³ Knighted in 1915.

⁴ *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1902-03 (1904), pp. 10 and 11.

⁵ The Provincial reports were published as follows: *Rep. Arch. Surv. Work in the N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan*, 1904-05 to 1920-21 (Peshawar, 1905-22); *An. Prog. Rep. Supdt. Arch. Surv. Punjab and Northern Circle*, 1901 to 1920-21 (Lahore, 1902-22); *An. Prog. Rep. N.-W. P. and Oudh (later on U.P.) Circle*, 1887-88 to 1920-21 (Allahabad); *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., Southern Circle, Madras*, 1881 to 1920-21 (Madras, 1881-1921); *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Bengal (later on Eastern) Circle*, 1900-01 to 1902-21 (Calcutta, 1901-22); *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Central Circle*, 1919-20 and 1920-21 (Patna, 1920-21).

⁶ Rev. and Agri., A, A. and E., Aug. 1903, 11-13. Marshall's own summary of this note may be seen in *An. Rep. D. G. Arch.*, 1902-03, pt. 1 (1904), pp. 1-3.

About conservation he laid down that (a) hypothetical restorations were unwarranted, unless they were essential to the stability of a building; (b) every original member of a building should be preserved in tact, and demolition and reconstruction should be undertaken only if the structure could not be otherwise maintained; (c) restoration of carved stone, carved wood or plaster-moulding should be undertaken only if artisans were able to attain the excellence of the old; and (d) in no case should mythological or other scenes be re-carved. These rules have essentially governed the conservation-works of the Survey till the present day. About excavations Marshall felt that should excavations by such an international body of scholars and trained explorers as the International Indian Exploration Fund, inaugurated in 1898,¹ become practicable, the Government might be content to let much of this work rest in their hands,² but in the meantime 'we shall endeavour to rescue any sites in danger of destruction and carry forward general exploration on a limited scale . . . The many adverse criticisms levelled at Indian excavations in the past should make us doubly careful not to add to the examples of unscientific work'. Museums figured prominently in his scheme, and he strongly felt that Government archaeologists should be given some official position in the chief provincial museums. Epigraphy, he observed, should primarily be the duty of the Government Epigraphist and not of the other officers of the Survey, and Dr. Ross of the Madrasa College, Calcutta, should be entrusted with Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The *Annual Reports* of the Director General were to consist of two parts, the first purely official and the second, with a wider scope, aiming 'at supplying the public with interesting and readable accounts of the progress of archaeological research in India. It will contain clear and accurate accounts of the works of restoration and preservation of important buildings and sites, of excavations and fresh discoveries and will be illustrated. It will also give a résumé of the epigraphical, numismatic, exploratory and other work of the Department, compiled from the special reports of the Provincial Surveyors and from personal observation'. The Resolution referred to above (p. 32) also impressed upon Local Governments not to allow excavations by incompetent persons, 'for it is infinitely better to leave antiquities underground till such (experienced) supervision is available than to destroy in digging them out half the evidence which they might afford'. Marshall from the very beginning laid emphasis on the necessity of building up a good library for the Survey and even in 1903-04 made a provision of Rs. 4,000 for the purpose.³

¹ In 1898 the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists proposed the formation of an 'India Exploration Fund', which was recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and forwarded the proposal to the Secretary of State. The Government of India welcomed the proposal on condition that no exploration would be undertaken without their consent and that the objects discovered would belong to the Government, only duplicates being taken away, on the analogy of the regulations obtaining in Greece and Italy. In this connexion it was suggested that the Treasure Trove Act of 1878 should undergo some amendments (which, had they come through, would have added to its effectiveness), but Elgin thought that 'we are perhaps going a little too fast' (Rev. and Agri., A, A. and E., Jul. 1898, 31 and 32). The consideration of the foreign regulations led to the idea of having legislation in India itself (*ibid.*, Nov. 1901, 1 and 2), and this ultimately culminated in 1904 in the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (below, p. 33).

² Curzon's remark on this proposal was: 'I devoutly hope not. The last thing that we want is the continental enthusiast with a spade in his hand. Let us excavate our own sites.'

³ The Central Archaeological Library has now grown into an institution unique of its kind in India, with some forty thousand books and volumes of periodicals on Indology and history, archaeology, etc., of different parts of the world. No efforts are spared to keep it up to date. Writing in 1939, Marshall called it 'the best archaeological library in India, perhaps in Asia', J. Cumming, *Revealing India's Past* (London, 1939), p. 31. If it was so fourteen years back, it is much more so today.

An effective care of monuments such as was contemplated under the régime of Curzon presupposed the assumption of some legal powers by the Government, particularly in regard to those which were owned by private parties. In 1898 Lord Elgin had obtained from the Secretary of State the regulations about monuments and antiquities obtaining in Greece and Italy. The Government of India became particularly alive to the question when their notice was drawn to the rifling of the Buddhist remains in the Swat valley and the attempt made by an adventurer, under the pretext of a mission from a foreign scientific society, to remove certain wall-paintings from Pagan and 'drafted a brief bill based on the existing English Acts and embodying certain provisions which have found place in recent legislation in regard to antiquities in Greece and Italy'. The Government of Bengal had indeed independently taken up the question of legislating on the subject in 1900; its provisions were utilized in the draft bill, which was circulated to all Local Governments, Collectors, Commissioners and Archaeological Surveyors for remarks. Voluminous comments were received from all quarters,¹ and after taking them into consideration, the Government sent the draft to the Secretary of State for approval on the 28th May 1903, assuring him that 'we desire, as far as possible, to avoid all resort to compulsory proceeds, and we think that the bill we have prepared will enable us to attain the objects in view without recourse to action that might be resented as oppressive'.² The Secretary of State, in his Despatch of the 14th August 1903, having given his consent, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act was passed in 1904 'to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities and over excavation in certain places and for the protection and acquisition in certain cases of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest'.

It may be recalled that in 1899 the Secretary of State, in his Despatch dated the 18th May 1899, had sanctioned an archaeological organization of five circles and an epigraphist for a period of five years (above, p. 25). In 1902 it was decided to appoint an architect for Muhammadan buildings in north India and at the same time to extend the jurisdiction of the Panjab Survey over the United Provinces in respect of archaeological work other than architecture. It was also decided to attach Rajputana and the Central Provinces to the Bombay Circle and to give an Assistant to the Surveyor there.³ As the period of five years, for which the scheme had been sanctioned, was about to expire, Marshall, in his note dated the 18th April 1904, pleaded for the retention of the Survey on a permanent basis. 'I may', he said, 'refer at the outset to an illusory belief to which expression has often been given that a time would soon come when the Archaeological Survey might be disbanded and the work of conservation, if not complete, accomplished through the agency of the Public Works Department. That time has receded further year by year, and the phantom might now, once for all, be laid to rest . . . The work of the archaeological officers is of a kind which cannot be discharged by any other existing agency and it can only cease if the Government cease to admit their responsibility for the preservation of the ancient remains of the country.' This note was approved by the Government and forwarded to the Secretary of State on the 26th May 1904, recommending the retention of the Survey on a permanent basis and soliciting a temporary extension

¹ Of the comments the most interesting from our point of view were those by the Archaeological Superintendent of Madras, who rightly suggested that archaeological officers should be given some position in the Act, as not all District Magistrates, who were to be given wide powers, were likely to take interest in archaeological matters. This was ruled out, as 'Local Governments will naturally consult the Provincial Archaeological Surveyors. This need not be laid down in the Act'.

² Rev. and Agri., A. A. and E., Jun. 1903, 1-15.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 1903, 1-6.

till the necessary consultations with the Provincial Governments were complete. The Secretary of State, in his Despatch dated the 29th July 1904, sanctioned the extension, still hoping that within ten or fifteen years a smaller staff would suffice, if it was necessary to retain the Survey at all.'

The question was further reviewed for more than a year, and on the 9th November 1905, the Government of India wrote to the Secretary of State that 'although the first object of the present operations of the Department—that is to say, the restoration of monuments of first-rate historical or archaeological importance—may be attained in 15 or 20 years, the permanent conservation of these and of monuments of secondary interest, the prosecution of exploration and research' and the administration of the Ancient Monuments Act will still render an Archaeological Department necessary' and that 'it is accordingly proposed that the establishment of the Department be placed on a permanent basis'.

Following the Despatch of the Secretary of State dated the 26th January 1906, approving the proposal, the Government of India, in their Resolution dated the 28th April 1906, announced that the Survey was placed on a permanent and improved footing. The appendix to the Resolution laid down the sanctioned strength of the Department and their respective jurisdictions as follows: Director General of Archaeology and Government Epigraphist (in lieu of the Government Epigraphist in Madras) for the whole of India; Superintendent of the Western Circle,* covering Bombay, Sind, Hyderabad, Central India and Rajputana; Superintendent of the Southern Circle, covering Madras and Coorg, and an attached Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy; Superintendent and Archaeological Surveyor of the Northern Circle, covering the United Provinces, Panjab, Ajmer, Kashmir and Nepal;² Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, covering Bengal, Assam, Central Provinces and Berar (till now in the Bombay Circle); Superintendent of the Frontier Circle, covering the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan;³ and Superintendent of the Burma Circle.⁴

*Rev. and Agri., A. A. and E., Jun. 1904, 29-32.

²The temporary post of Assistant Superintendent, Western Circle, was to continue.

³The amalgamation of the Panjab and the United Provinces Circles and the appointment of two officers, one for Hindu and Buddhist monuments and the other with special architectural training, had been effected in 1903. *An. Rep. D. G. Arch.*, 1903-04, pt. i (1905), p. 1.

⁴In 1902 the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General in the N.-W. F. Province proposed that Dr. Aurel Stein of the Indian Educational Service, previously Registrar of the Panjab University, Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, and Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, be appointed Inspector General of Education and Archaeological Surveyor for N.-W.F. Province and Baluchistan. The Secretary of State accepted the proposal as personal to Stein only (Rev. and Agri., A. A. and E., Jul. 1904, 24; Aug. 1904, 20). Stein joined his new appointment on the 2nd January 1904. The Panjab Circle was thus relieved of the charge of the N.-W.F. Province and Baluchistan. Stein had already undertaken an exploration in Chinese Turkestan in 1900-01. In 1904 he sought permission to continue his exploration (Home, Education, pt. B, Mar. 1905, 43 and 44) and started once more for Central Asia in 1906. In 1909 the Government proposed to appoint him as special explorer. The Secretary of State did not agree to create any special post but had no objection to Stein being transferred to the Archaeological Survey (Home, A. A. and E., Feb. 1910, 11-17).

⁵Home, A. A. and E., Jul. 1906, 21-29. Mysore was omitted from the jurisdiction of the Survey as it had its own archaeological officer. The inclusion of other Indian States within the respective Circles was in general accordance with the decision arrived at in 1901 (Rev. and Agri., A. A. and E., Jun. 1901, 3 and 4). In 1906 it was felt necessary to restrict to a degree and to lay down a strict procedure for the visits of inspecting officers to the States (Home, Public, A, May 1906, 41 and 42).

By 1906 the Survey had come into its own: it had been established on a permanent basis, its policies had been well-defined, and the Government had armed itself with legal powers for the preservation of monuments and care of antiquities. The strength of the superior staff remained virtually the same in the following years except the addition, in 1910, of an Assistant Superintendent for headquarters to enable the Director General to depute an officer from time to time to assist in the supervision of the Indian Museum. The formative period of the Survey being now over, our review of the subsequent period may be confined to only a few salient facts.

A conference of orientalists, held at Simla in July 1911, was somewhat critical of the activities of the Survey.¹ Exception was taken that archaeological information appeared in an English journal before it had been issued in India. It was also recommended that young Indians should be encouraged to learn the principles and practice of architecture so as to become private architects or occupy posts in the Department and that the appointment of competent Indians to the Department should be encouraged, for it was felt that no steps had been taken to bring forward Indian talent.²

In 1912 the Government were once more seriously considering the necessity of decentralizing certain Departments on financial and other grounds. So far as archaeology was concerned, the post of the Director General was to be abolished and replaced by a professor of archaeology, to be attached to a proposed oriental research institute. It was pointed out that the decision was not based on reasons of economy (in fact the Government were prepared to spend more on archaeology) but on grounds of efficiency. It is unnecessary to record here the details of this episode, and it would suffice to say that the Secretary of State, in his Despatch dated the 8th December 1911, finally declared that it would not be prudent to abolish the office of the Director General, and the Government created two scholarships for the training of Sanskrit scholars in addition to the two existing since 1903.

In 1915 Marshall prepared a note reviewing the archaeological progress in the country, which was published under Government Resolution dated the 22nd October.³ It was a masterly summary of all branches of the activities of the Survey and laid down the policies that had guided them.⁴

The year 1917 saw an important addition to the technical strength of the Survey with the appointment of an Archaeological Chemist. Next year an Assistant Director

¹Conference of Orientalists including Museums and Archaeology Conference, July 1911 (Simla, 1911).

²In 1905 it had been decided that Superintendents were to be normally recruited in England and Assistant Superintendents in India (Rev. and Agri., A. A. and E., Mar. 1905, 3-10). The decision was not strictly adhered to, for in 1906 we find an Assistant Superintendent being recruited abroad. In 1911, it was reiterated that 'the branch in which Indian scholars have been most successful is epigraphy and that it would be inadvisable at present to hold out hopes for Indians to be employed in higher grades of the Department in a larger degree' (Edn., A. A. and E., Oct. 1911, 18-21). Shortly later, there was a proposal of separating the functions of conservation and research and entrusting each to either of the Circle officers, but it was ultimately ruled out (Edn., A. A. and E., Jun. 1913, 1-9).

³Edn., A. A. and E., Apr. 1916, 14-21.

⁴It was also published in a book-form, *Indian Archaeological Policy, 1915* (Calcutta, 1916). Of particular interest is the enunciation of the principles of conservation, which may be reproduced here. 'As to the policy which has been pursued in the treatment of these and other buildings, the Government of India are fully alive to the deplorable harm that may be done in the name of restoration, and,

General was appointed, his designation being changed to Deputy Director General in the following year.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 brought about noteworthy changes in the administration of archaeology as in other directions. The Devolution Rules of 1921, giving effect to the classification of subjects as contemplated in the Government of India Act, 1919, laid down archaeology as a Central subject.¹

4. 1921-1928

The constitutional reforms had far-reaching consequences on the organization of the Survey. The expenditure on archaeology was now entirely Centralized. True, the Provincial Governments were still to remain in executive control of the archaeological staff, but they were to act only as agents of the Central Government in this behalf, and even that control was done away with in the next few years. The only archaeological function left with the Provincial Governments was the statutory power of declaring monuments protected.

In the same year the old Eastern Circle was renamed Central Circle, and a new Eastern Circle, with headquarters in Calcutta, was created.

Other reforms in the Survey were also forthcoming. The cadre of the Department was augmented by the addition of a Superintendent for Epigraphy, a Superintendent for the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, two Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy

except in special circumstances, are opposed to its being undertaken. It is recognized, however, that there are considerations of a social, political and climatic character which must always be taken into account, and that in this country, in particular, it is impracticable to lay down one law which will be applicable to every case. Thus a distinction is drawn between the older Buddhist, Hindu and Jain edifices on the one hand, and the more modern erections of the Muhammadans on the other; and in the case of the latter the view is taken that a policy of limited restoration is sometimes not only desirable but justified on the ground that the art of the original builders is still a living art. It is held also, that in the case of monuments which are still serving the purpose for which they were built, whether they be Hindu temples or Muhammadan mosques or tombs or palaces where ceremonial functions are still performed, there are frequently valid reasons for resorting to more extensive measures of repair than would be desirable, if the buildings in question were maintained merely as antiquarian relics. With these reservations, however, the object which Government set before themselves is not to reproduce what has been defaced or destroyed, but to save what is left from further injury or decay, and to preserve it as a national heir-loom for posterity.'

¹ Entry 36 of the Central list. This should be read with entry 6 of the Provincial list, which was as follows: 'Public works included under the following heads, namely: . . . care of historical monuments, with the exception of ancient monuments as defined in section 2 (1) of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, which are for the time being declared to be protected monuments under section 3 (1) of the Act, provided that the Governor-General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, remove any such monument from the operation of this exception.' The responsibility of the Central Government was therefore limited to protected monuments only, the rest devolving on the Provincial Governments; thus, in a way, the provisions of the Constitution (below, p. 46) were foreshadowed. In actual practice no Provincial Government is known to have taken any interest in the unprotected monuments or in excavation, the position relating to which was left undefined.

and two additional Assistant Superintendents.¹ The Government also laid down that forty per cent of the service will be Europeans, the rest being Indians.²

Two years later, in 1923, the Indian Retrenchment Committee recommended that the total provision for archaeology should not exceed ten lakhs of rupees, and the budget of the Survey was largely reduced.³ But archaeology had in the meantime made phenomenal progress: the Indus civilization had been discovered, and the history of India had been thrown back by two thousand years. No government could but take cognizance of such outstanding discoveries, and members of the legislature wanted an assurance that lack of adequate finances would not stand in the way of extensive explorations. In 1925-26 the grant for exploration was increased to ninety-two thousand rupees, to be raised to two lakhs and a half in each of the two subsequent years.⁴ To cope with the extra work, an Exploration Branch, consisting of a Deputy Director General and three Assistant Superintendents (one of them subsequently designated as Special Officer) were sanctioned in 1926-27.

The necessity of increased fieldwork was realized on all hands. It was felt in some quarters that if research and excavation were to be conducted on a scale commensurate with the potentialities of the country, more was needed than Government action and Government funds, and it was accordingly proposed that something in the nature of an Indian archaeological institution fund, to receive grants-in-aid from the Government of India and, if possible, the Provincial Governments, and to be augmented by annual subscriptions, should be organized. It was also said that such a fund would give the Survey a secure annual income free from the accidents of vote in the legislature and would enable it to go ahead with its plans of an excavation-policy over a series of years, for 'whenever retrenchment is in the air, archaeological exploration is one of the first subjects that is bound to suffer.'⁵ However, the matter was not pursued to any great extent.

As an additional fillip to excavations, it was simultaneously proposed that foreign institutions should be given sufficient facilities and inducement, in the form of a share of the excavation-proceeds, to send out archaeological missions to this country. This necessarily led to a consideration of the relevant sections of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, and incidentally other sections, so that they could be made more responsive to changed circumstances. Going ahead of our narrative for a while, it may be stated that ultimately it was mainly the section dealing with excavations that was

¹The strength of the Survey, thus reconstituted, was as follows: Director General; Deputy Director General; Government Epigraphist; Superintendent for Epigraphy; three Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy; Archaeological Chemist; Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum; eight Circle Superintendents; two Assistant Superintendents (respectively for the Western and Central Circles); Assistant Superintendent for Central India and Rajputana; and two Assistant Superintendents as reserve. The office of the Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian inscriptions was, as before, to be held on a part-time basis, and the special post for Stein was to continue. The post of Deputy Director General was made permanent (Edn., A. A. and E., Jul. 1921, 1-3).

²Resolution dated 14th June 1921 (Edn., A. A. and E., Jun. 1921, 5-11). No subsequent orders on the reservation of quota for Europeans and Indians are available, and it seems to have died a natural death.

³Edn. and Health, Deposit, A. and E., May, 1923, 12-14.

⁴To have a comparative idea, it may be stated here that the exploration-grant for the year 1952-53 was Rs. 2,37,700, and these are days when money fetches far less than what it did in 1925.

⁵D.G.A., F. 877 of 1925-26.

amended in 1932, thus enabling the Government to frame rules for regulating excavations by outsiders under a licence from the Director General.¹

Sir John Marshall relinquished the office of Director General, which he had held for over twenty-six years, on the 6th September 1928 and was placed on special duty for writing a series of monographs on Mohenjo-daro, Harappā, Taxila, Sāncī, Māndu, Delhi, Agra and Multān.² He was at the same time to hold charge of the excavations at Taxila and to co-ordinate the results of the operations of the Survey at the Indus and other allied sites. He retired on the 19th March 1931 but was re-employed on special duty. He finally left India on the 15th March 1934.

The above pages will have amply shown how much Indian archaeology owes to Sir John Marshall. In the sphere of exploration, the operations during the first two decades of the century were almost entirely confined to Buddhist sites, the notable exceptions being the excavations at Bhīṭā, Pāṭaliputra (with funds provided by a philanthropist) and Taxila. The justification for this predilection for Buddhist remains was, according to Marshall himself, twofold: in the first place, thanks to the Chinese pilgrims and the researches of earlier archaeologists, more was known about this class of remains than any other class, and it was thought safer to start with these before groping in the dark; secondly, spectacular finds as were to be obtained at Buddhist sites were indispensable for securing financial support and public interest.³ However, with the discovery of the protohistoric civilization in the north-west India Marshall rose to the occasion and rightly diverted an appreciable part of the resources of the Survey to the intensive excavations of the two key-sites and to an extensive survey of Sind and Baluchistan, which brought to light sites not only of the Harappā culture but of other earlier and later protohistoric cultures.⁴ At the same time, later sites in the heart of India continued to receive their due share of attention. The constitution of the Exploration Branch was a fulfilment of the real need of the moment. It is not insignificant that the valuable work of the Branch

¹As enquiries are sometimes received about the rules governing the excavations in India, extract from the rules relating to excavations in protected areas, so far as they relate to the distribution of antiquities, are reproduced here: 'Antiquities found by a licensee in the area in respect of which the licence is held shall be disposed of by the Central Government after consultation with the Director General or, if in any case he thinks fit to appoint a Committee to advise on the subject, after consultation with such Committee. The disposal of such antiquities shall be subject to the following requirements: (a) human relics of historical and religious importance and any objects, which in the opinion of the Central Government are of national importance or are indispensable for the scientific completeness of the National Museum or for the purpose of illustrating the art of the country shall remain the property of Government and shall be retained in India; (b) subject to the provisions of clause (a), the licensee shall be permitted to retain such portion of such antiquities as will be sufficient in the opinion of the Central Government to recompense him for the expenditure incurred in the course of his operations under the licence; (c) antiquities retained by Government shall be distributed in accordance with the procedure for the time being applicable to the distribution of antiquities recovered by the Archaeological Department.'

²Of these, the following have been published: *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols. (London, 1931); *Monuments of Sāncī*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1940); and *Taxila*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951). The monograph on Harappā is by M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappā*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1940).

³Marshall in Cumming, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴H. Hargreaves, *Excavations in Baluchistan*, 1925, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 35 (1929); A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 37 (1929); *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and adjacent Hill Tracts*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 42 (1930); *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., no. 43 (1931); N. G. Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, no. 48 (1934).

came to a cessation only four years after Marshall had relinquished the stewardship of the Survey.

Of late much has been said about the inadequacy of the excavation-technique of Marshall and his associates. To say that the Indian standard was not behind what contemporarily obtained in the Near East is no doubt an answer to the charge, but European archaeology had by then fully recognized the principle and importance of stratified excavation and put it into extensive practice. The fact is that workers in India had not thought it necessary to maintain contacts with their foreign counterparts.

Apart from the tactics, the strategy is alike open to criticism, for no attempt was made to tackle different classes of sites spread all over the country so as to obtain regional culture-indices; Stone Age investigation remained virtually unknown.

But it is easy to indulge in finding fault with methods, which might have answered the needs of India at that time, for what was then required was more the awakening of interest in her past among the public than the satisfaction of the professional's demand for specialized knowledge. Nothing short of vast excavated remains, such as one finds at Mohenjo-daro, Taxila, Sarnāth and Nālandā, with equally vast yields of excavated objects, would make the people realize what excavations could bring to light, and the same remains true to a large extent even today.

The achievements of Marshall in the direction of rescuing monuments from decay and saving them for posterity remain unchallenged. His Note prepared only one year after his arrival in India (above, p. 31) shows the great insight he acquired within a remarkably short time into the problems of preservation under Indian conditions. His repeated insistence on the artistic aspect of conservation, without impairing the original features of a building, his differentiation between the requirements of early and medieval monuments, as elaborated in his Note of 1915 (above, p. 35), the care with which he revived and tended the gardens around monuments, the effective precepts on repairs embodied in his *Conservation Manual*—all show his aesthetic yet practical approach to the problems of conservation. His power of organization and capacity for holding high the prestige of his Survey under all circumstances enabled it to emerge safely out of many a critical situation.

5. 1928-1937

Marshall was succeeded as Director General by Mr. H. Hargreaves on the 8th October 1928. The policy and affairs of the Survey continued as before, and fruitful explorations were conducted in Sind. On the administrative side, he proposed, in 1930, the abolition of the office of the Superintendent for Hindu and Buddhist Monuments at Lahore, its substitution by an Assistant Superintendent attached to the Frontier Circle and the redesignation of the Superintendent for Muhammadan and British Monuments, Agra, as Superintendent, Northern Circle. These proposals, accepted by the Government shortly after his retirement in 1931, had the merit of bringing these two Circles into line with the other Circles in that the distribution of duties became geographical irrespective of the denominational affiliations of the monuments.

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni assumed charge of Director Generalship on the 29th July 1931. By then a world-wide economic depression had overtaken India, resulting in an all-round retrenchment in expenditure, the axe of which fell heavily on the Archaeological Survey. The number of superior officers was drastically curtailed from twenty-nine

to twenty,¹ the Exploration Branch was done away with, a large number of subordinate posts, including scholarships, were cut down and funds of normal work were curtailed; in fact, the budget of the Survey was reduced to a mere subsistence-allowance. The hard blows had naturally a crippling effect on the activities of the Department; the *Annual Reports* were allowed to fall into arrears, till an officer had to be appointed in 1935 to clear up the accumulated arrears.

On the 1st June 1935 the Director Generalship passed to Mr. J. F. Blakiston. At that time constitutional reforms were once more in the air. The Government of India Act of 1935 included 'ancient and historical monuments; archaeological sites and remains' in the Federal list, this time without any corresponding entry in the Provincial list. Following this, in 1937, the Central Government assumed all powers vested in the Provincial Governments under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, thus relieving the latter of the only surviving function they still held in the administration of archaeology. Sind, now a separate Province, was detached from the Western Circle and added to the Frontier Circle, and with the separation of Burma from India, the archaeological organization of that country became independent.

An event, not directly concerned with the history of the Survey, may be mentioned here. In 1935 Markham and Hargreaves surveyed the museums and art-galleries of India on behalf of the Museums Association of the United Kingdom with financial assistance provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Their report,² besides containing a complete directory of museums in India, the last of its kind,³ brought into prominence the backwardness of the museum-movement in India, ascribed to the lack of trained curatorship, centralized direction, adequate finances and other factors. To the Government of India the report recommended the provision of greater financial assistance for the better museums; the appointment of an Inspector General of Museums with European experience for a period of at least three years; the training of a qualified Indian officer to succeed the Inspector General; the grant of scholarships for the training of curators and giving opportunities and facilities for training; the provision of a new constitution for the Indian Museum, indisputably the largest museum of India, to allow of the appointment of a full-time permanent Director in charge of the whole Museum, with permanent full-time keepers for each section; and the revival of the standing committee on museums, as recommended by the Museums Conference of 1912, a product of the Conference of Orientalists of 1911 (above, p. 35). The findings of Markham and Hargreaves went unheeded, no doubt largely on account of the fact that, except the few museums for which

¹ Director General; Deputy Director General; Government Epigraphist; Superintendent for Epigraphy; Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy; Archaeological Chemist; seven Circle Superintendents; four Assistant Superintendents; Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum; Assistant Engineer; and reservist. Marshall's special appointment and the part-time appointment of the Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian inscriptions were to continue. The Superintendentships of the Eastern Circle and Indian Museum were combined but were re-separated in 1939. The following posts were retrenched: Deputy Director General for Exploration; five Assistant Superintendents (including one for Epigraphy, one for Exploration, Special Officer for Exploration, one general and one reservist); one Assistant Archaeological Chemist; one Assistant Engineer; and Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum.

² S. F. Markham and H. Hargreaves, *Museums of India* (London, 1936).

³ Of late, at the instance of UNESCO, the Government of India have undertaken to prepare an up to date directory of museums, and the work has been entrusted to an officer of the Department. The first directory of museums seems to have been prepared also by an officer of the Department in 1911 in connexion with the Conference of Orientalists (above, p. 35).

the Government of India were responsible, the chief museums were the charges of the Provincial Governments and that the Government of India had no, and even now do not have any, binding authority in matters concerning them. Today the officers in charge of all principal museums are alive to their responsibilities, but, as the report emphasized, 'finance is indeed the key of India's museum development; it is hopeless to expect a great movement on fantastically low budgets'.

Reference has been made above (pp. 37-38) to the amendment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, so as to induce outsiders to undertake excavation in India. Taking advantage of the new concessions, the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Art jointly sent out an expedition to India in 1935 to excavate Chanhudaro in Sind.¹

6. 1937-1953²

On the 21st March 1937 Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit assumed charge of the Director Generalship. The financial position was gradually improving, and the Survey was in a position once more to plan its activities, though on a restricted scale. One of the first things to receive Dikshit's attention was an exploration of those parts of Sind which had been left uncovered by the previous survey (above, p. 38), but the exploration-party, which started work in November 1938 in the western hill-tracts of Sind, met with a tragic end at the hands of dacoits, resulting in the death of its leader and injuries to its other members.

In the same year, the Government decided to invite a foreign expert to report on matters relating to future excavations. The choice fell on Sir Leonard Woolley, the terms of reference being to advise on: (1) the most promising sites or areas for excavation; (2) the best methods and agencies for achieving the speedy and fruitful development of exploration-activities in general, consideration in this regard being had not only to Government but to non-official agencies such as universities, learned societies, etc.; (3) the best method of training or selecting officers for exploration-work; and (4) any general points bearing on the field of exploration and excavation.

Sir Leonard stayed in India from the 6th November 1938 to the 11th February 1939, during which he visited forty-five places, and shortly afterwards submitted his report, which was virtually a wholesale condemnation of the activities of the Department except in the direction of conservation of standing monuments, for which he was all praise, and epigraphy, about which he had nothing to say. He regarded the conservation of excavated remains and the maintenance of site-museums as wasteful and futile for the scholar and layman alike. His remarks about the quality of excavations and the selection of sites were also thoroughly critical. 'The policy', he observed, 'of dispersing the funds available for excavation into small grants for work on a multiplicity of sites, the idea of which seems to be that it should give the illusion of great activity on the part of the Department, was fatal to what should have been the main object of excavation, i.e. the establishment of a typological sequence of antiquities.' Further, 'on almost every site I visited there was evidence of the work having been done in an amateur fashion by men anxious to do well

¹ E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations 1935-36* (New Haven, 1943).

² Our review should have ended with 1952, on the 21st February of which year the Archaeological Survey of India completed fifty years of its continued existence, but the events of the following year are being included here for the sake of completeness.

but not sufficiently trained and experienced to know what good work is.¹ The tendency of not attempting to dig down to the lower levels by removing structures of the upper ones was deprecated. Among his recommendations were the appointments of an Adviser on Archaeology, 'who could deal with all the points at issue' and two prehistorians (called protohistorians by him) specializing in the antiquities of the Stone Age. He also felt that greater incentive should be held out to encourage foreign and Indian institutions to take part in excavation.

Some parts of Woolley's report were definitely based on hurried observation and an imperfect appreciation of Indian requirements, and the remarks about the quality of excavations may be regarded as of too sweeping a nature. Perhaps it would have been more helpful to the cause of Indian archaeology had a foreign expert been invited to excavate an Indian site and thereby train the officers of the Survey than to make a rapid tour over sites excavated and unexcavated. Be that as it may, the recommendations of Woolley were not immediately followed up by the Government except in one direction.

One of the items that Woolley was to report on was 'the most promising sites or areas for exploration'. He laid down that the criteria for the selection of a site should be: (1) the site should have been inhabited over a long period, so that stratified conditions are probable, affording evidence for a chronological sequence; (2) some at least of such strata should belong to known historic periods to which coins or inscriptions are likely to assign them with reasonable certainty; (3) the site should have been in the past of such importance that not only are coins and inscriptions likely to be found but the other objects should be of a quality really representative of the art of their periods; and (4) the site should be one lending itself to excavation. Of the sites in north India he recommended Rāmnagar (Ahichchhatrā) in District Bareilly, U.P., and suggested that 'the excavation should be on a large scale and should employ all those officers of the Department whose training in field work is desirable, the direction being in the hands of a really competent archaeologist'.

Accordingly, a large-scale excavation was undertaken at Ahichchhatrā during the years 1940-44 under the direction of Dikshit. Particular attention was paid to the classification of historical pottery-types, ranging over about fifteen centuries, which had been practically ignored before.²

Dikshit organized the first Indian prehistoric party, to explore the Sābarmati valley of Gujarat. He also revived the lost personal contacts with Provincial museums and Departments of Archaeology of the Indian States. Encouraged by him, the University of Calcutta took a licence for excavating the ancient site of Bāngarh, District Dinājpur, Bengal, and thus marked itself out as the first Indian university to take interest in excavation.

The effects of the War made itself felt on the activities of the Survey during the last years of Dikshit's Director Generalship. The Government decided that no additions

¹ *Ancient India*, no. 1 (1946), pp. 37-59, which, however, gives only a few representative types out of a vast range. Prior to that the only published pottery-material of the historical period, extremely limited in scope, was from Maholi near Mathurā, *Jour. U.P. Hist. Soc.*, XV (1940), pp. 135-139. The pottery from Sar Dherī, District Peshawar, excavated by S. Corbiau and S. Mukerji in 1938-39, was carefully analysed but not published. It has been said that the observation of the stratification at Ahichchhatrā was of a rough-and-ready type, but it may be noted that nothing obtained from the later stratified excavations at sites of comparable dates has contradicted the pottery-sequence evolved at Ahichchhatrā or the dates ascribed to different pottery-types; on the other hand, they have fully confirmed the conclusions derived there.

would be made to the list of protected monuments for the duration of the War. Much more distressing was the decision to stop the printing of all archaeological publications, including the epigraphical ones.

In 1944 Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler¹ was recalled from war-service to succeed Rao Bahadur Dikshit as Director General on a contract of four years. The period of his stay in India was marked by numerous changes and all-round improvements.² Within a few months of his arrival he constituted an Excavations Branch within the Survey under an Assistant Superintendent (shortly afterwards raised to the status of a Superintendent), for he felt that 'the excavation of a site, like the ordering of a battle, must be thought out and co-ordinated by a single present and directing mind. Otherwise chaos, waste, inefficiency are inevitable'.

By February 1945 the Survey was re-organized in several directions. Conservation-work in all Circles, except the Northern and Frontier,³ had so long been executed by the Provincial Public Works Departments, acting as agents of the Survey. To have a greater hold over the monuments and to ensure a proper standard of repairs, conservation was now Centralized throughout India. This involved the provision in all the Circles of a uniform strength of personnel, including a Superintendent, an Assistant Superintendent⁴ and the necessary staff for conservation. An Executive Engineer⁵ (in lieu of the Assistant Engineer of the Northern Circle) was also appointed at headquarters to cope with the increased work consequent upon the assumption of direct responsibility for the repairs and upkeep of monuments.

The re-organization-scheme also included the much-needed post of a prehistorian (of the status of an Assistant Superintendent), for 'the technical requirements of pre-history, relying, exclusively as it must upon material and environmental evidence, differ in degree and emphasis from those of more recent archaeology and call therefore for the services of investigators trained upon somewhat special lines'. Wheeler did not evidently agree with Woolley's view that most of the Departmental museums should be closed down, for his scheme provided for the establishment of a Museums Branch in the Survey by upgrading the post of the Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum, to that of an Assistant Superintendent. The other additional posts brought about by the scheme were an Assistant Archaeological Chemist and an Assistant Superintendent for Muslim Epigraphy, whose functions had till now been entrusted to a part-time officer.

All this involved much increase in the work at headquarters, and the necessity of having an officer of high standing was keenly felt. The post of Joint Director General of Archaeology was therefore created towards the close of 1945 to meet the situation. Further, in order to place the publication-programme that Wheeler had in mind⁶ on a sound footing and 'to maintain the standard of Departmental publication at a suitably high

¹ Knighted in 1952.

² Summarized by Wheeler himself in a circular 'Director General's report on the development of the Department', 31st December 1947.

³ The execution of repairs to monuments had been taken over as a full Departmental responsibility in the United Provinces in 1925 and in Panjab in 1927.

⁴ The Delhi monuments were to continue under an Assistant Superintendent. These monuments had been removed from the jurisdiction of the Northern Circle in 1938 and placed under the Assistant Superintendent for Central India and Rajputana. In 1945 the designation of the post was changed to Assistant Superintendent, Delhi Circle.

⁵ Redesignated 'Archaeological Engineer' in 1950.

⁶ The innovations in the Departmental publications introduced by Wheeler are stated below (p. 49).

level', a Superintendent for Publications was appointed in 1946.¹ Next year the Museums Branch was strengthened by the addition of an Assistant Archaeological Chemist.

To remove the unwieldiness of a few Circles, a new one, called the South-eastern Circle, to consist of the Andhra districts of Madras, the whole of Orissa and a few adjacent districts of the Central Provinces, was constituted in 1947.

Like the monuments themselves, Wheeler planned to maintain directly the gardens attached to the monuments at Delhi and Agra. Though the actual transfer of charge of the Delhi gardens took place only in 1950, and those at Agra have not yet changed hands, a Garden Superintendent and an Assistant Garden Superintendent were sanctioned in 1947.

'For the purpose of reviewing and advising the Central Government on the needs of archaeology in India, current and future' and 'to act as an intermediary between the archaeological services, the world of learning, the administration and, in some small degree, the wider public', the Government established, in 1945, a Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, consisting of representatives of the universities, learned societies, the Government and the Indian States. The Board has till now (1953) met nine times and has, by its constructive criticism and advice, helped the Department in many directions.

The question of the formation of a National Museum of India had been sporadically receiving the attention of the Government for a long time. The first effective step towards the establishment of such a museum was taken in 1945, when, on the initiative of Wheeler, a committee, with Sir Maurice Gwyer as the chairman, was set up to report on the functions, administration, organization, etc., of the Museum. The committee reported in 1946, and from then to 1949, when the Museum was inaugurated, Wheeler and his successor vigorously pursued the matter, so that it was not shelved once again.

In 1947 the far-reaching political changes that India underwent had their effects on her archaeology. The archaeological results of the Partition may be summed up in Wheeler's words: 'If we now impose the new boundaries upon the archaeological map, the picture is an interesting one. Pakistan is found to include almost the whole of the known extent of the earliest civilization of India, that of the Indus Valley. It includes also Gandhāra and the homeland, therefore, of a phase of art which spread its influence as far south as remote Amarāvati; and, with Gandhāra, Chārsada, once Gandhāra's metropolis and now one of the unexplored key-sites of Asia; likewise Taxila, Gandhāra's provincial capital, ancient meeting-place of east and west; and a host of Buddhist stūpas and monasteries, of which Takht-i-Bāhī and the neighbouring Sahri-Bahlol are merely notable examples. Pakistan has no reason to complain of its archaeology: except in one anomalous respect. Almost all the Mohammadan monuments of the first importance remain in India. The battered Moghul fort and the remains of Jahāngir's tomb at Lahore, even the two beautiful tiled Persian mosques at Tatta in Sindh, are a poor sample of the achievement which also produced the forts and mosques and tombs of Delhi and Agra, Akbar's royal city of Fatehpur Sikrī, the tombs of Sāsāram, the mosques and tombs of Ahmedabad, Jaunpur, Bijāpur, Pāndua—the list need not be extended. All these, which are still a part of India, will by India be worthily cherished as an integral portion of her cultural heritage.'²

On the administrative side, the Frontier Circle of the Survey became detached from India. The eastern part of Panjab which remained on this side of the border was combined

¹ In 1949 the post was upgraded to that of a Deputy Director General for Exploration, so that in addition to looking after publications the incumbent could help the Director General in the proper supervision and conducting of exploration and excavation.

² *Ancient India*, no. 4 (1947-48), p. 1.

with Delhi and eventually formed into a full-fledged Circle under a Superintendent.¹ With the incorporation of the larger part of Bengal into Pakistan the attenuated Eastern Circle was strengthened by the incorporation of Orissa, then a part of the South-eastern Circle. Following the new governmental set-up, the Archaeological Survey of India was renamed the Department of Archaeology, to give it a proper place in the reconstitution of the Ministries and other offices of the Government of India, much though one may regret the loss of a name that had stood for over eighty years.

From the very beginning Wheeler attached great importance to training. He organized conservation-courses for the Departmental staff and such outsiders as were charged with the care of monuments. Students from universities and other institutions thronged the excavation-camps to receive practical instruction in fieldwork—a custom which has since been followed up. To think that the students thus trained for a couple of months or so would become experts in the technique of excavation is palpably expecting too much; yet the training does give them the capacity to appreciate the discipline of archaeology and provides the necessary corrective to the notions of history that they may have developed from their text-books. Wheeler was also anxious to see that within the Survey itself there was no lack of personnel to create a break in the chain of succession to higher appointments. As a reserve he proposed the appointment of four probationers in the cadre of Assistant Superintendents, of which, however, only one was sanctioned and appointed after his leaving India.² His scheme for training also envisaged the regular sending abroad of the officers of the Survey to establish contacts and to acquaint themselves with the latest developments in different fields of archaeology.

I have deferred so long the mention of the excavations carried out under Wheeler's direction by the new Excavations Branch. He introduced into India the observation of stratification in excavation and thus brought the Indian excavation into line with the best international standard. The factors deciding the choice of the sites excavated by him have been explained by him in a previous number of this Bulletin³ and need not be recounted here. It would suffice to say that each excavation achieved the specific purpose for which it had been undertaken. He aimed at establishing some firm datum-lines in Indian archaeology to which all results accruing out of future excavations could be correlated. It may be said, however, that his programme did not include direct attacks on the archaeological problems of north, central and west India, and such attacks have produced immense results in the last few years.

Dr. Wheeler made over charge of his office on the 30th April 1948 to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The period of the latter's Director Generalship was marked by the organization, in 1948, of a large-scale exhibition in New Delhi of Indian art-objects which had been taken to London in 1947 in connexion with an exhibition sponsored by the Royal Academy. The New Delhi exhibition, important in itself, also formed the nucleus of the National Museum, which was declared open on the 15th August 1949.

Another event of the period worth recalling was the visit of Professor F. E. Zeuner, the distinguished geochronologist, to India in December 1948. He spent a few months in this country and visited practically all the Stone Age sites, accompanied by a few officers of the Department and others who were likely to profit by training and observation with him.

¹ The formation of the Circle as a complete unit took place as late as 1949.

² In 1952 this post was converted into a regular one under the designation of Assistant Superintendent Headquarters.

³ 'Archaeological fieldwork in India: planning ahead', *Ancient India*, no. 5 (1949), pp. 4-11.

In 1949 the State of Baroda merged into the Indian Union; its archaeology was taken over by the Government of India and the staff, including a Director and an Assistant to the Director, transferred to the Department of Archaeology.

On the 26th January 1950 the Constitution of Free India came into being. It ordained the following allocation of functions relating to archaeology between the Union and the State Governments:

1. Union: ancient and historical monuments . . . and archaeological sites and remains, declared by Parliament by law to be of national importance; and
2. State: ancient and historical monuments . . . other than those declared by Parliament to be of national importance.
3. Besides these two categories, both the Union and the States would have concurrent jurisdiction over archaeological sites and remains other than those declared by Parliament by law to be of national importance.

The principles behind this allocation of jurisdiction are clear: 'the Central Department of Archaeology will be relieved of the care it had been bestowing, since its inception, on numerous monuments of local significance and will now be free to restrict its activities only to outstanding monuments of national importance. Sooner or later, the States will have to start their own organizations for looking after monuments other than those accepted by Parliament as "national". But this holds good in the case of monuments only; the position in regard to "archaeological sites and remains" is somewhat different. Here, while the Centre will remain in exclusive charge of such sites and remains as are considered by Parliament to be of national importance, the residue will not completely devolve on the States but will remain under the concurrent jurisdiction of the Union and of the respective State. The implications are significant, for it means that the Centre will not be absolved of all responsibility in this direction and can assert itself whenever it feels that a State, either through negligence or by following wrong methods or policies of exploration, is acting detrimentally to the sites and remains in its jurisdiction.' Further, while monuments and sites could previously be protected by an executive notification, it has now become the prerogative of Parliament to declare them by legislation to be of national importance.

On the recommendation of the Federal Finances Integration Committee, the Government decided that the monuments of national importance in what are now called the Part B States, constituted by the former Indian States, either individual or integrated, should be for the time being maintained by the concerned States, the expenditure being re-imbursed to them by the Centre. The responsibility of monuments in the Centrally-administered Part C States was forthwith assumed by the Department of Archaeology.

Dr. Chakravarti relinquished his office on the 30th June 1950 but continued in the Department for a couple of years more as Adviser on Archaeology, to be generally responsible for work connected with the Archaeological Departments in Parts B and C States and also for that of the National Museum. His successor as Director General, Shri Madhosarup Vats, prepared exhaustive notes on the conservation of the monuments of national importance in these States, a large number of which had suffered from age-long neglect, so that they could be saved from decay and brought back into a sound state of preservation.

In fulfilment of the provisions of the Constitution, Parliament passed, in 1951, the 'Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act', by which all the monuments previously protected under

¹ *Ancient India*, no. 5 (1949), p. 1.

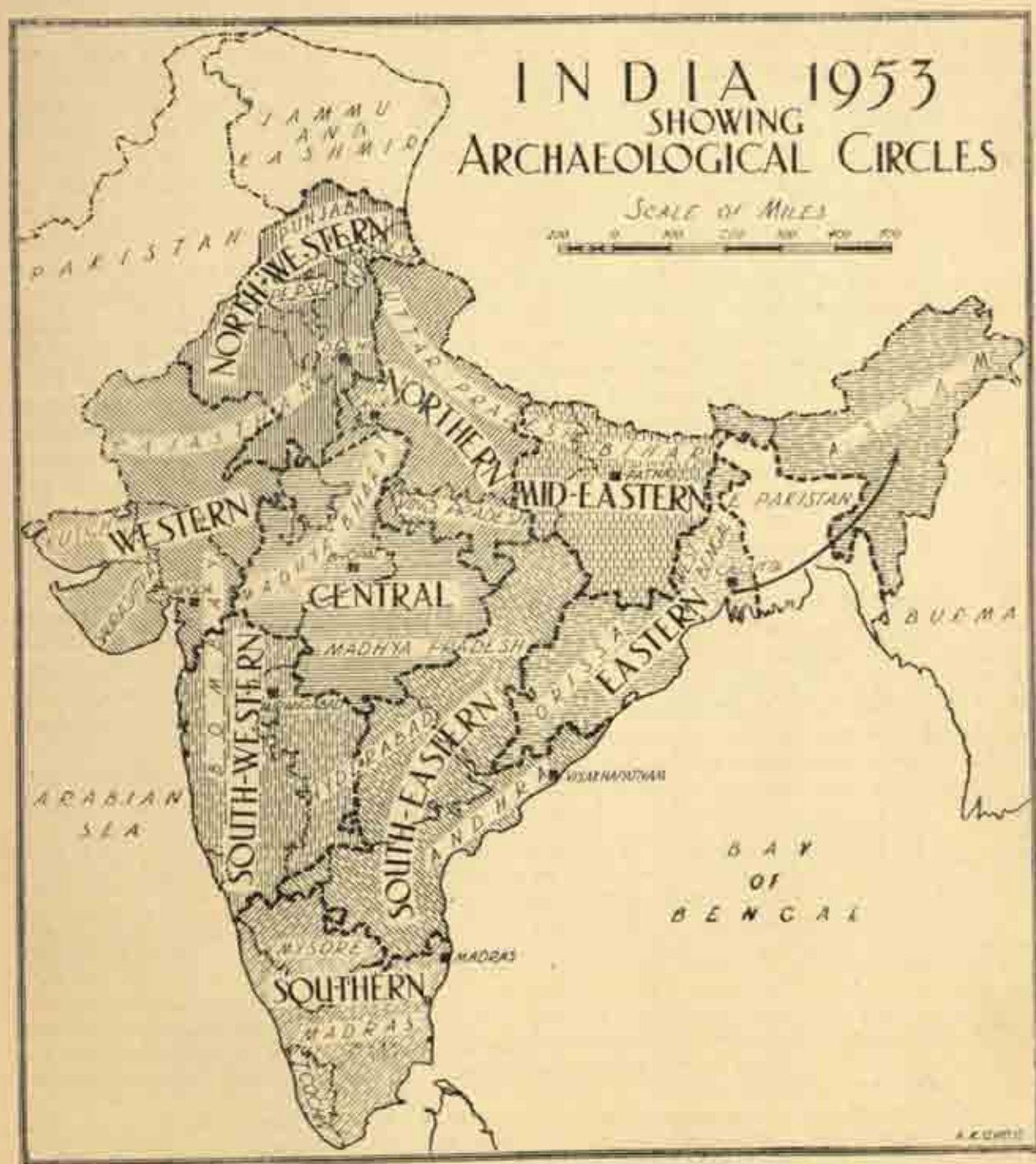


FIG. 1

the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in Part A States, corresponding to the former Provinces of British India, were redeclared as of national importance and about four hundred and fifty monuments and sites in Part B States were included in the national list.

The system under which the Part B States maintained the national monuments as agents of the Department of Archaeology could not continue for long and had to be soon terminated. This necessitated the strengthening of the organization of the Department by the addition of two more Circles in addition to the seven existing ones. The Government also decided that such archaeological staff of the Part B States as were to be rendered superfluous to the requirements of the States as a result of a large number of their monuments changing hands should be absorbed in the Department and equated to different categories of its existing staff. The work was not without hurdles, but the arrangements were eventually finalized and kept ready for execution.

Vats retired on the 2nd March 1953, to be succeeded by the present incumbent of the office, on whom it fell to translate into reality the schemes prepared by his predecessors. During the months of June and July this year the two new Circles came into being,¹ and the additional staff were assimilated into the Department.² In spite of the obvious difficulties in the way, the task was successfully accomplished, thanks to the diligence of his colleagues, who rose to the occasion, and the friendliness of the officials of the affected States, who fully co-operated in the transfer of the monuments. The archaeological integration of India is now complete, and the Department of Archaeology has now spread its organization all over the country.³

7. PUBLICATIONS

During the fifty years of its existence the Archaeological Survey has enriched the archaeological literature of the world by many monographs and periodical publications. Mention has been made above (p. 32) of the *Annual Reports*, published in two parts, from 1902 onwards. The planning of the Report underwent change from time to time. Thus, when the Conference of Orientalists of 1911 (p. 35) suggested that detached memoirs should take the place of the second parts of the Report, public opinion was invited, and on a consideration thereof it was decided that while the second parts should continue, the scope of the first parts should be elaborated by a detailed and illustrated summary of the

¹ For the present-day orientation of the Circles, see fig. 1.

² The superior staff of the Department now consist of: *Headquarters*: Director General, Joint Director General, Deputy Director General for Administration, Deputy Director General for Exploration, Archaeological Engineer and Assistant Superintendent; *Epigraphical Branch*: Government Epigraphist, Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions; *Chemical Branch*: Archaeological Chemist and Assistant Archaeological Chemist; *Indian Museum*: Superintendent, Archaeological Section; *Museums Branch*: Assistant Superintendent and Assistant Archaeological Chemist; *Excavations Branch*: Superintendent; *Prehistory*: Assistant Superintendent; *Circles*: nine Superintendents and nine Assistant Superintendents; *Gardens*: Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent; *Monuments*: Custodian at Sanchi and four Special Officers in the South-western Circle.

³ The history of the Archaeological Survey from 1902 has also been dealt with by Marshall in Cumming, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-33, which is precious on account of the personal reminiscences that it contains, and by N. P. Chakravarti in *Archaeology in India* (Delhi, 1950). The *Annual Reports* contain valuable material which can be utilized in writing a comprehensive history of the Survey. Much information given above is based on records in the National Archives of India, to which my thanks are due for making them available to me.

activities of the Survey and should incorporate the epigraphical résumés, till now published in the second parts. Only four years later, the proposal for detached memoirs received favour, and, in 1916, the second parts of the Report were discontinued. With the cessation of the Provincial Surveys in 1921 (p. 36) the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* had necessarily to include the material previously published in their reports (p. 31, n. 5), with the result the former gained in bulk and importance once more. In this form the Reports continued to be published till the year 1936-37. In 1938 Rao Bahadur Dikshit decided that as they contained much matter in which the public were not directly interested, the future ones should be split up into two parts, one, in a more convenient format, dealing with exploration, epigraphy and other researches and the other with conservation and routine-matters. However, due to the outbreak of the War, when all archaeological publications were suspended, the scheme did not materialize.

The idea of detached memoirs mentioned above took shape in a new series called the *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, of which the first number appeared in 1919 and seventyone have been printed till now. They cover a large range of subjects, including exploration-reports, monuments, architecture, inscriptions, etc.

The *New Imperial Series*, inaugurated by James Burgess as early as 1874, continued till 1933, when its last volume, LIII, was published.¹ Though most of its volumes are now out of print, there is still a demand for them, testifying to their usefulness to Indian archaeology.

None of the above series, however, was comparable in scope with the archaeological journals of the west. Dr. Wheeler, therefore, decided to bring out a periodical called *Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, to contain general and research-articles on different aspects of the archaeology of India and the adjacent countries and to be produced in a handy format. The first number of *Ancient India* was published in 1946; it has amply fulfilled its purpose and has gained a wide circulation in India and abroad.

But the old *Annual Reports* had their own value in that they kept the public informed about the current work of the Department, and their discontinuation left a void which *Ancient India* could not fill. It has, therefore, been decided that there should be another annual publication, *Indian Archaeology—a Review*, which, while not pretending to be as exhaustive as the *Annual Reports*, will give in an essential form the chief activities in the country each year.

The history of the epigraphical publications is no less varied. The most important of them is the periodical *Epigraphia Indica*, which made its first appearance in 1892,² and twentyseven volumes of which, each complete in eight parts, have so far been published. Its counterpart, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (to be renamed *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement*), which performs the same function in regard to Arabic and Persian inscriptions as *Epigraphia Indica* does in the field of Sanskrit and Dravidian inscriptions, was first published in 1909-10, and eighteen issues have appeared up to date.

The progress in the publication of volumes in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* series, which contain inscriptions classified according to dynasties and are invaluable for historical research, has been regrettably slow, for only three volumes (two during the period with which we are concerned) have till now appeared.

¹ The cessation of the series does not seem to have been the result of a deliberate policy. With the inauguration of the *Memoirs* there was an overlap of subjects between the two series. For example, while H. Cousen's *Chalukyan Architecture* appeared in N.I.S., XLIII (1926), A. H. Longhurst's *Pallava Architecture* appeared in three parts as *Memoirs* no. 17, 33 and 40 (1924-30).

² See above, p. 30, n. 7.

For the epigraphic records of south India, a separate series known as *South Indian Inscriptions* has been running since 1890.¹ The progress in this series has been more satisfactory than the preceding one, for as many as thirteen volumes have since appeared. The grouping of the inscriptions has, however, varied from time to time, being according to localities, dynasties or even the language of the inscriptions; it is time that a uniform system was planned for the succeeding volumes.

South Indian inscriptions were also dealt with from 1905 to 1946 in another series, at first called the *Annual Report of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle*, later on *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent (Epigraphy)* and finally *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*. This series contained brief notices of inscriptions of south India collected during a particular year. In 1945 it was felt that it was illogical to restrict the scope of the reports to south India only, and it was decided to supersede it by the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, so that the whole of India could come within their purview.

Apart from these, the Survey has off and on published guide-books to monuments and museums in its charge. While the previous books, though admirably suitable for students, were somewhat lengthy and at places technical, the present policy is to have shorter and simpler books to meet the requirements of the ordinary visitor. The Department, in its earlier days, also published catalogues of a few museums.²

The reports on a few major excavations have been published as monographs not conforming to any definite series. Mohenjo-daro and Taxila are each dealt with in three volumes³ published abroad under arrangements with the Government of India, while Harappā⁴ and the further excavations at Mohenjo-daro⁵ are each covered in two volumes and are published in India.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE STATES

The Archaeological Departments in the States, which had been usefully supplementing the work of the Central Archaeological Survey, may now be referred to in brief. The first State to start its own Department seems to have been Mysore, which, since 1900, has been maintaining its own organization. Mysore was followed shortly afterwards by Kashmir and Mayūrbhanj and later on by Hyderabad, Gwalior, Travancore, Cochin, Bhopal, Baroda and Jaipur. Some of these Departments rendered valuable service to the monuments in their charge and even undertook excavations. Particularly worth mentioning among their activities were the preservation of Ajantā, Ellora and other monuments by Hyderabad; the maintenance of the monuments at Sānchī by Bhopal; the reconstruction of an early temple with old tumbled-down material at Khiching by Mayūrbhanj; the excavation at Maski and other places by Hyderabad and at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli by Mysore, all of which drew attention to the protohistoric potentialities of the Deccan, at Pawāyā by Gwalior, at Amreli by Baroda and at Bairāt, Sāmbhar and

¹ The first seven volumes were published in N.I.S. see above, p. 30, n. 8.

² J. Ph. Vogel, *Cat. Delhi Museum of Archaeology* (Calcutta, 1908); *Cat. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909); *Cat. Arch. Museum, Mathura* (Allahabad, 1910); D. R. Sahni, *Cat. Arch. Museum, Sārnāth* (Calcutta, 1914); M. Hamid and others, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi* (Calcutta, 1922); F. H. Andrews, *Central Asian Antiquities Museum, New Delhi: Descriptive Cat.* (Delhi, 1935).

³ Above, p. 38, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, 2 vols. (Delhi, 1938).

Rairh by Jaipur; and the epigraphical surveys by Hyderabad and Mysore. The leading Departments published their annual reports and other works, some of them of great merit. Particular mention may be made of the sumptuous publications on *Ajanā* and *Bidar* by Hyderabad.¹

Some States, without regular Departments, were helped technically or financially, sometimes bothways, by the Archaeological Survey of India: for example, the excavation and conservation at Sānchī were directed by Marshall himself; the overhauling of the monuments at Māṇḍu by Dhār was made possible by a liberal grants-in-aid from the Survey; and Chhatarpur owed not a little to it for the preservation of the Khajurāho temples. To advise the lesser States in Rājputāna and Central India, too small to have their own archaeological service, the Survey had on its staff a special Assistant Superintendent till 1945.

The Departments in Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir are still functioning, those of Gwalior and Jaipur have provided the nucleus for the Departments in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan and those of Bhopal and Baroda have merged into the Central Department. The existing Departments, except that of Kashmir which stands on a different footing in the Constitution, have no doubt recently suffered in importance due to the outstanding monuments in their charge having come over to the Centre, but we still look up to them for the efficient upkeep of monuments of local importance, for epigraphical research and for exploration and excavation under trained direction.

To take charge of monuments of local importance is now a constitutional responsibility of all the States. At the present moment, barring the few States mentioned just now, no other State has actively taken in hand the setting up of its own archaeological system.

9. MISSIONS ABROAD

While individual officers of the Department have gone abroad on study-tours or allied purposes and have, in recent years, also attended international conferences on monuments and museums, archaeological missions from India to neighbouring countries have been very few indeed, which is surprising when one considers the length of the existence of her Archaeological Survey, her geographical position and the fact that such countries abound in relics of direct interest to her. Of the limited number of missions, the foremost are those of Sir Aurel Stein, who led three successive archaeological-cum-geographical expeditions in Central Asia and covered roughly the area comprising the Oxus region on the west, China proper on the east, the big ramparts of Tien-Shan, 'the celestial mountains', on the north and the snowy Kin-Lun ranges on the south. This is not the place to recount the achievements of his expeditions, undertaken respectively in 1900-01, 1906-08 and 1913-16, the first of them outside the auspices of the Survey. It will suffice to say that he did full justice to that land of many cultures and recovered innumerable paintings of different traditions, hundreds of manuscripts in diverse scripts (including Brāhmī and Kharoshthī) and languages (including Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tibetan, Chinese and other less-known ones), a vast mass of domestic objects and myriads of antiquities of terracotta, stucco and other material. The art-objects brought to light unknown phases of culture-contacts and evolutions of Chinese, Persian and Indian plastic

¹ G. Yazdani, *Ajanā*, text and plates in 3 pts. each (Oxford, 1930-46); *Bidar, its History and Monuments* (Oxford, 1947).

arts and paintings. The fascinating results of his expeditions are described in thirteen large volumes.¹

'Western Tibet', consisting of Lahoul, Ladakh, Zaskar, Puring and some adjacent districts, partly in Kashmir and partly in Kāngrā District of Panjab, is no doubt politically a part of India but has cultural affinities with Tibet. For that reason mention may be made of an archaeological exploration undertaken in those regions by Reverend A. H. Francke of the Moravian Mission at Kyelang, a scholar of Tibetan, whose services were secured in 1909 by the Government for the purpose. In his tours Francke came across a large number of Buddhist shrines, monasteries with wood-carvings and other antiquities and Tibetan manuscripts.²

In 1945 Dr. Wheeler went to Iran for a month and visited a large number of medieval monuments and ancient sites, including Persepolis and Sialk. He returned via Iraq, where he saw the sites of Babylon, Birs Nimrud, Ctesiphon and Samarra. Next year he visited Afghanistan, seeing a large number of sites, the more well-known of which were Bamiyan, Kunduz, Balkh, Ghazni and Kandahar.

In response to an invitation of the Government of Indonesia, the Government of India sent to that country two officers of the Department, Shri K. R. Srinivasan and Shri C. Sivaramamurti, in 1948. The former prepared a detailed report on the condition of the Borobudur monument and suggested measures of conservation and the latter studied the art of the great monument, suggesting new identifications of some sculptures and correlating it with ancient dress and customs of the land.

¹ *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907); *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 vols. (London, 1912); *Serindia*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1921); *Innermost Asia*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1928).

² A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, 2 pts., N.I.S., XXXVIII and I. (Calcutta, 1914-26).